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nomena gave circumstantial accounts. For instance one old woman said, "Yes, Kolaca gave birth in this fashion. The placenta also was discharged through the anus. People placed a poultice of leaves on her as one would for a wound. It was just that the child took the wrong path. Another time, Kolpada had me for a midwife. The child's head appeared through the anus, so I massaged the child back into the abdomen, turned it around, and brought it out through the proper passage." I must confess myself at a loss to explain this particular fantasy.

In connection with other topics, reference has been made to continence practiced by men and to frequency of intercourse. Men report that during their early married life they have intercourse sometimes as frequently as every night, but that every other night is considered more nearly the average. However, when a man has two or more wives this may mean that a woman has fewer opportunities for sexual activity than her husband. Further, it will be recalled that men are not supposed to have relations with their wives from the beginning of pregnancy until the child can sit up, or at the very least begin to laugh. This is a period of about twelve to fifteen months. They are also not supposed to sleep with a menstruant.

This might impose considerable restraint on men if they observed the restrictions, which often they do not, and if no other women were available. Furthermore, men are generally expected to be continent during the months of preparation attending financial displays. All these factors might seem to place men under considerable periods of restriction. Probably a man who wishes to avoid them is quite able to do so either by finding other women, especially widows, or by simply discarding the proscriptions in respect to his wife. Since these proscriptions have no attached sanctions, the attitude of his wife will be the determinant should he wish to disregard them.

A man's unfaithfulness may have deleterious effects on his children. During the course of eighteen months there were several cases in which sick infants were taken to seers to have extracted from under their sternum a piece of a woman's belt string. This is considered a sure proof that the father has been unfaithful to the child's mother. In none of these cases did the mothers take any drastic action against the men. Their attitudes were those of quarrelsome reproach and did not lead to divorce proceedings. These were among the few instances in which personal hostilities were not translated into financial terms and fought out on that level.

Attitudes toward the male organ were difficult to determine but by indirection certain hints were available. For instance, gossip had it that

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IDEAS OF PROCREATION

342 The ideas of the physiology of procreation in Atimelang and their relationship to sexual morality deserve some detailed consideration. A child is thought to be formed from an accumulation of seminal and menstrual fluids in the mother—and menstrual fluid is considered the result of "things in a woman's breasts like eggs, which break and run down into her abdomen." For the first two months the child is believed 343 to remain in liquid form. It is during this period that the mother develops food preferences. In the third month pieces of flesh begin to solidify, and the mother feels dizzy and nauseated. In the fourth month the child's feet are formed, and a tiny placental cord appears.

At this time the fetus is said to resemble a banana blossom. This is also the period when the mother begins to feel movement. In the fifth month the fetus has solidified as far as its abdomen and begins to kick slowly and gently. In the sixth month the whole body is formed, but the ears, mouth, nose, and genitals are rudimentary. In the seventh month features begin to acquire flesh and prominence, and in the eighth month the child is complete and begins to jump about. In the ninth month even its nails are there, and "the child kicks until its mother is terribly sick. It kicks itself out of the mother's body; it tears its nest (placenta) and so has to come out." This is on the whole a remarkably accurate idea of fetal development.

342 Many different bits of behavior and attitudes dovetail with this idea 336 of procreation. One of these is that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. This in turn has its repercussion—in practice if not in theory—on sex morality. In theory, a young unmarried woman should be a virgin, although there is no idea of virginity tests at the time of marriage. However, should a husband shortly after marriage develop 353 feelings of nausea and a sense of discomfort just under the sternum, he will consult a seer. If the seer extracts a small piece of the fringe from a man's loincloth, this is considered a sign of the wife's premarital infidelity. The diagnosis of the difficulty is usually made by the patient. Nevertheless, the seer's role in fostering social conformity is not inconsiderable.

353 Incidentally, infidelity, as previously noted, may affect children and 484 the marriage partner in this fashion at any time during the earlier years of marital adjustment. It is a nice expression of the hostility and yet of the basic bond among members of the biologic family. Also, a difficult 348 first birth is considered a sign of premarital unchastity. In one such case the tunukun was threatened with death by the irate husbands of a pair

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556 my affinal kin and I shall give you this pig.' So his lineal kin would pay
426 his bride-price for him."

183 In discussing this conversation later, Fanzan remarked, "Yes, a man here says he is rich, but all he does is to go around and cheat people. He pulls in their gongs and mokos and promises to pay for them when other debts of his are settled, but he only deceives us. People thought my kinsman Lanmani was poor because he did not have a lot of outstanding debts."

556 Supporting this type of personal expression of dissatisfaction and
782 difficulty with financial affairs is another more formalized expression. Any large accumulation of gongs and mokos, such as the one described for the tumukun's feast, is considered dangerous. Young children are chased away from it, and adults must be protected by throwing away one of the pieces of smaller value to the wealth-bringing spirits. The piece is tossed by the owner into the brush, where boys and young men fight for it. This is another permitted opportunity for aggression in relation to wealth. Should this precaution or some similar magical one
● [753] be omitted, the owner of the wealth will fall sick and die within a day.

The danger associated with excessive wealth is present also when a rice crop is unusually large, when a carabao is slaughtered, or when many wild pigs have been shot on the communal hunt at the end of the dry season. Again, illness can be avoided only by throwing away a small
[764] part as a sacrifice, the essence of which goes to personal or ancestral spirits who may be offended, and the substance of which is fought over by the younger and less dignified males.

CONCLUSIONS

556 Obviously from the foregoing, status depends primarily on wealth,
156 but neither of these is any more secure or confidence-inspiring for the individual than were his human relationships in childhood. Status and finance on the institutional side reflect and reinforce the uncertainties involved in trusting other people; yet certain aspects of the culture reveal the need for their good will. Just as there are many positive factors in child training, so also on the institutional side there are a variety of constructive aspects within the total framework. There are the many
152 recognized avenues for expressing and draining off the very hostilities
556 engendered by the culture that tend both expressively and repressively to maintain social cohesiveness. There is always the hope and the search for desired goals, whether the goal be the nurturing mother-provider or the status-wealth hyphenation. There are always devices for forging through to such goals if one is a sufficiently self-contained and ruthless

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Melanesians the Atimelangers cannot be considered ghost-ridden. The interesting point is that these potentially malignant dead are always one's most immediate kin. People have two souls. At death one goes to a village below if the death has not been violent. If it has been, the soul goes above (*adiy hong*), and a spirit-bird ceremony must be given for it. The second soul is the one that loiters about the village boundary and against which precautions are taken at the time of burial. 775 [716]

It is at this time that the soul is particularly dangerous because the deceased wishes company. To placate it in this early and more potent phase of malignancy and to relegate it to the village boundary there are special feasts, the Heveiaberka held on the fourth day after death and the Heveiakang on the ninth day after death. During these nine days a few minor restrictions are observed by the family, including taboos on salt, bathing, and sexual intercourse. During that time there may be also one or two all-night gong-playing memorials (*sinevosi*), including the feeding of the guests who attend. It is during these nine days that there occurs all the ostentatious use of pigs and the incurrence of debts, which must be repaid in subsequent years, or even generations, in a series of feasts called Rolik, Baieri, and Tila (also called Ato in its final phase). The first two of these feasts are named, significantly enough, after two ways of preparing rice; the first refers to rice rolls, the second to small woven containers in which raw rice is boiled. 775 765 [824]

The third feast can really be broken down into a number of ceremonies. To the whole series I have given the name of the final ceremony, (*Tila*), which means *strong* and refers to the purchase of either a sheep or a carabao for the final and supreme death feast after which the soul of the dead is banished from the village boundary and thus from interference in human affairs. The motivations for giving payoff feasts have already been discussed in the chapter on adults and institutions. The pressure of creditors, prestige, and, perhaps most often, illness of descendants lead to these final ceremonies. The dead become impatient and annoyed at the lack of postmortem prestige and manifest their displeasure by making trouble for the living. [752]

As soon as an illness is diagnosed as the manifestation of a displeased soul, a small quantity of rice is offered it in a bamboo container raised on a pole. From here on, plans for a payoff feast should get under way, but frequently long delays occur, and it is hoped that meanwhile the small original offering will stave off the soul. In addition, the dead may withhold good crops if the smaller garden feasts are not made in the fields they have worked or if they are not named and fed at a series of new-corn rituals owned by various lineages. All this placation of the dead 735 765 775 [841] 765 765 775

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his belt. Fanuni sent for Manifani, who was noted for his boldness in burying lepers. Because of this specialty he always had in his possession a few odds and ends of mats, pots, water tubes, and such things used by the people he had buried. The following morning Manifani set up a bamboo pole about five and a half feet high. The end of it was split and in the crotch he wedged a piece of the leper's mat. A man who utters such a curse should not chew areca, smoke, or have intercourse with his wife on the preceding night. Manifani was paid one cent for his services, which indicates that financial reward was scarcely the motivation for the acquisition and practice of his particular skill. That evening Fanuni took a smoldering brand, rubbed it against the foot of the bamboo pole, and told the soul of the leper to pursue the thief and give him leprosy. He then left the smoldering brand at the foot of the curse.

The practical result expected from this procedure is that the guilty person will be frightened into returning secretly the stolen object. Out of many cases of this sort I never knew one in which a curse actually served this purpose. In the case of Fanuni this certainly did not happen. The following night his wife called that she had just seen a firefly set out from near the pole. Several people rushed out and tried to follow it, since it was assumed that the firefly was the soul of the leper searching for the guilty person. Fireflies are very numerous, so the people were soon confused and gave up their attempt to follow it.

Presumably no person except the one who puts up a curse may take it down. In theory even the owner of a garden or a palm should not harvest produce until the proper person removes the curse. Actually the pole usually topples over of its own accord and is forgotten or disregarded.

Should a person develop any of the diseases for which there are curses, there is surprisingly little interest in trying to connect the illness and a specific theft. Correlatively, there is in the culture no concept of cure through confession. Repeatedly I brought up this question in relation to particular individuals only to have informants shrug off the question with a casual admission that possibly they were suffering from some curse against theft, but never have I seen curses included in divinations used to determine the sources of illness. An illness is not a source of shame, and it will be recalled that shame, not a sense of guilt, is the dominant sanction in Atimelang life.

This procedure all goes to indicate the automatic and essentially impersonal quality of curses. Also, although curses are in fairly common use and are of many varieties, they are probably no more numerous

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young corn [*matingata-atsata*], sugar cane, mangoes, or cucumbers. This taboo lasts for three months, and in the fourth month I eat them again. Before eating them I feed my kuya hearth and place on it leaves of all these foods. After that I may eat. My father and older brother died about eighteen years ago, and ever since then I have kept this taboo. The kuya hearth is so called because I keep these food taboos before the Kuya feast. In this feast fire is thrown at a tree, and good crops for the coming year are requested. The kuya are spirits of all kinds of foods. They come from Piningkai [literally, "field head" or "top of the world," to the southeast in Batulolong]. These spirits stay in the sky. Mine are Kuyawa, Takuashafiki-Nalongtaiy, Tingtina-Fanfana, and Karilak-Kamaro. When I feed the kuya hearth I say, "Kuyawa, Takuashafiki-Nalongtaiy, Tingtina-Fanfana, Karilak-Kamaro, now let me eat my corn, cucumbers, squash, and mangoes and not be sick. May my thighs and my shoulders be strong. May I go running over large level places and long slopes and go straight through without stopping until sweat comes." [The rainy season is considered the season of illness. This sacrifice and supplication is made at the end of the rainy season so that the soreness and stiffness may pass.]

[At this point I tried to get him away from ethnography into personal anecdotes.] When I was still a child, a friend of mine, also called Mangma, asked me to come to his garden and help him build a house. When it was finished I asked him to come to the house I had built in my garden and roast corn. My house was made of slender bamboo. The thatched roof had collapsed, but we hunted rats, roasted corn, and ate there anyhow. At the new corn feast my friend Mangma invited me to come to fetch corn from his garden. The next day his mother cooked it for us. Then we went to my house to eat rats and corn. We said, "Now we can't play for a while, but when the corn work is finished, when it has been gathered and tied into bundles, we can play again." [Question.] This friend is dead now; he died after he married. When we grew up and married we didn't play together any more. We were no longer friends [in the sense of companions]. This friend, Mangma, was also from Karieta.

[How his mother died?] My mother's body swelled up and she died. That was about seventeen years ago. It was the year after my father and brother both died. They all died because we didn't give our Bayorka feast [part of the Tila death feast for ancestors] rapidly enough. We built the altar and didn't feed it. Then the village of Karieta burned down. We built another bayorka altar but didn't feed it. Then these three people died. I was married at the time.

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159 was doing, and she said she was just burning weeds. Then I went back
787 to the village.

Night before last I dreamed I went to Manimau's garden to hunt rats. No one had yet dug there for them and the runways were fine. I hunted along the runways for burrows and dug them out. Then Manimau came and said, "Why do you come here spoiling my garden and digging it up? You can't do that." So I said, "I didn't do it. Someone else was here and dug these holes." I lied to him. Then I woke up. [Informant laughed.]

[What is the meaning of Fuimau's fire?] It means that if I go all the [753] time to the fields to work I will get a headache. That was a sickness dream. [It is true that he is one of the most indefatigable gardeners among the older men.]

[753] [Rat-runs?] That means that if I had shot those rats, I should have had a stomach-ache.

159 I dreamed also that Malikalieta said Fungata was to come and live in Alurkowati. [Malikalieta's son had recently paid the token or engagement price on Fungata, but no bride-price had been paid yet.] Maikari, her brother, said that she could not go to Alurkowati because the bride-price had not yet been paid. Fungata went to Alurkowati but came right back.

[At this point I had to break off because death wailing began next door and conversation was impossible. In this last episode Mangma was probably using a dream form to tell a bit of current gossip.]

December 16, 1938

[On the preceding day Mangma went to Awasi.]

Day before yesterday I dreamed that my grandmother, Tilamala, planted squash inside of a fence. Then I secretly entered the fenced-off place. The squash were all ripe. One was as big as my thigh. I took it and ran, but Lonali [his mother's younger sister] yelled that I had stolen a squash. Then I woke up. [I had the only fenced garden in the Five Villages at that time. Later in the hour Mangma said that Lonali was the person who prevented his staying to sleep with a Lakawati woman on one occasion.]

[78] This means that I shall have a sick stomach. That is what it means
763 when I dream of a squash. [Meaning of thieving?] If we take something from dead people and they are not angry with us, that is a sign that we will get sick and die. But if they are angry with us and chase us away, it is a sign that even if we get sick we won't die. We die if people are fond of us.

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159 and I was alone in the house when I heard a noise in the thatch. I looked and there was a bird flying down in front of the privy doorway. In a little while it flew up in front of the entrance doorway. It was either a sisak or a tinoops [both birds favored by seers as familiars]. I thought, "What is this? Maybe people are surrounding the house and want to kill me or steal me. What shall I hit them with?" I saw father's sword and fetched it. I went to the privy doorway and stuck my head out through the thatch. I thought I would escape that way, but I saw a large stone under the house. I was afraid I would hit my head on it if I went out that way. So I pulled my head back in and went down by the house ladder onto the verandah. Then I noticed a sheep father had just bought, running up and down. I saw that many flies were coming out of its anus. These flies collected and all swarmed up my anus. Other people could not have seen them, but I did. Then in a little while I saw a large cluster of spiders coming out of the sheep's mouth. They all came and entered my mouth. I cried and cried. I said, "I am dead. Flies entered my anus and spiders my mouth." Then Kolkari came down from her house and sat with me. She said I was sick. She asked why I was holding my father's sword. I just grunted. Then I thought, "Whom do I want to kill? Kolkari or Falanata [an old woman]?" I took the sword and went to Falanata where she was beating bark cloth. Falanata asked what was the matter with me. I said there were many enemies who wanted to kill me. Falanata asked where, and she hit the walls with her rice pestle. She said I had better give her the sword so she could kill them. I gave her the sword and she hid it. Falanata had hung up her bark loincloth on the wall. I looked at it and it was a snake. I saw the snake come down the house ladder onto the verandah. It came near me, crawled up my leg, and bit my penis. I yelled, "Oh, the snake has bitten my penis." I cried hard. Many people came to see me. Fankalieta said, "Did this boy stick his hand in a hole or climb up on a stone pile, that a snake bit him?" He didn't know that I was sick. I sat in Falanata's house crying. Then Fankalieta carried me to his house. People called my mother and father. While I was in Fankalieta's house, I saw all the mountains sway as though there were an earthquake. I sat swaying too. Then father came with two chickens, saying it was Manikalieta's sacred 153 hearth [*wa ara*] that was making me sick. He swept off my whole body with the chickens and gave them to Manikalieta to feed to his hearth. When it was fed, I was cured. I wasn't really sick. I was just crazy and seeing things wrong. When one hallucinates like this, it is a sign that the sacred-hearth spirits are after you.

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February 4, 1939

I was still small and could only walk a little. I was trying to climb [159*]
the ladder up into the house. I was standing on the second step when I fell and hit my head on the corn-pounding stone and got a large wound. It didn't heal but got bigger and bigger. [He had just been watching me dress scalp wounds on children.] Then father divined, and the divination revealed that the areca altar and a dead person would have to be placated. A dead person had grabbed me as I was trying to go up the [776] ladder and that is why I fell. Father fed the dead person two chickens and fed the areca altar a chicken and a pig. Father put the rice and blood in my hand and held my hand to help me smear the altar myself. That night when I went to sleep, I defecated in my loincloth. [It is not customary for toddlers to wear loincloths. I asked about it and he changed the story, saying he was about twelve. I suspected this anecdote was a fantasy in which he assumed the role of the children he had just seen doctored. This was the sort of thing he did often in his dream accounts.] So they divined again. [When a person who has learned [753] toilet habits soils himself, it is considered a sign that he is ill and that [827] his soul has left him.] This time they discovered they hadn't yet made the Bayorka feast for my paternal grandmother. Father then gave one of her death feasts, but he died before he made her Bayorka feast. I got well.

[He asked if I wanted the story of how he lost his eye.] People were working in Likurwstang making the new trail. We were moving stones when a soldier came and hit me across the neck with a thorny branch. Mauglani, Padamani, Djetlang, and I ran away, following the Limbur ravine. On the way we looked for kanari nuts. At Kelawat-Lanmakani were two sacred pools and a large stone under which it was dry. We [282] leveled the sand under the stone, made a fire, and roasted cassava to eat [225] with the nuts. Then we tied bamboo twigs into a torch and with them hunted eels. I shot a large one and we came back, cooked it, and ate it with five or six ears of corn we had. I was just going to sleep that night when I heard a loud noise of bells. My soul vanished. I saw an old man coming down. He said, "Who told you to sleep here?" I said, "Grandfather, we were working on the new trail and the soldiers hit me, so we ran away and came here to sleep on the edge of your house-site." I saw him take out his lime but I didn't see him sprinkle it on my eye. When we woke we found that water was pouring down into our sleeping place, so we moved farther up the bank and sat there until dawn. I said to the three men, "My three friends, last night I dreamed

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were living. I wanted to go there to sleep. There were four of us men: Manikari, Fanmani, Maniseni, and I. We all played at dancing there. Tilaseni came to join us. She spoke to Maliemai and said, "Tell your younger brother that if he wants to marry me he can." Then Maliemai called me to come into the house. Maniseni said they had better all come in, but Maliemai said, "No, just Rilpada. The rest of you wait until I am through cooking." So Maliemai told me what Tilaseni had said. I answered, "Oh, this morning she spat areca juice on my face. We had better marry. I am willing." Then one night there was a dance for the village guardian spirit [*silemai*] given by Manikalieta. We all went. Tilaseni brought areca and betel to give me. I remembered that if a young man eats the areca a girl gives him, he breaks out with a rash, so I just put it in the bottom of my basket to give my father. [Exceedingly proper and conventional behavior.] At dawn I gave father the areca she had given me. [Question.] We didn't dance together. I told father that Tilaseni had given me the areca and if he was willing we could marry. Father said, "If you are happy with her, so am I. She is a good woman." At that time father wanted to feed his areca altar. He sent a child to tell Tilaseni's older brother to give him a pig. So they sent Tilaseni with a small pig, half a can of rice, and a bundle of corn. Father promised he would pay the bride-price in seven days and Tilaseni stayed in our house. In five days she came to sleep at my place, but just that night her uncle Fankalieta had called me to bring betel and areca, and we sat talking until the middle of the night. I went home to my place and saw that someone was sleeping on my mat. I felt the legs and felt two anklets. I thought, "This can't be my sister because she has only one anklet." I felt her calf. I ran my hand up her thighs, up her waist, to her breasts. I sat then and worried. I wanted to. It is customary here to wait seven days, but she came and wanted to sleep with me. I was ashamed. I crawled out, let down the ladder, and went out on the verandah, leaving her sleeping there. I slipped the ladder back up into the hallway and went to the chief's house to sleep. The next day when I came home father was angry with me. He said, "You are afraid of women. You didn't sleep with her. You aren't your age. By and by you will die. You will be poisoned." I said, "All right, I could have slept with her, but you older people are always saying that one has to wait seven days until the bride-price is paid, and I was just remembering your words." In two days we paid her bride-price. I didn't sleep with her the night we paid the bride-price. I ran away and slept in another house. So the next day she went to Kalabahi for two days. On the way back she met her older sister,

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said, "That must be our spirit, Mopada-Lonpada. We had better feed it." So next morning they made a mock moko string, Manifani shot a hen, and we went to the altar [of Mopada-Lonpada, in the ravine] and fed it. That night I dreamed that the same man came to me and said, "You are good. True, you burned my wife, child, and dog, but you paid a fine and you cleaned off the fields about my house. You are good." When I told the dream, Manifani said, "It is lucky we fed him, or he might have stolen your soul for two or three months and kept it until your body wasted away."

Once Padalani, a friend, called me and said he had shot a rat but it was still up in the pandanus tree. He said we had better take our dogs to fetch it. We did not find the wounded rat but we did get a live one. The dog chased it as far as Afalberka [dwelling place of an evil spirit]. We followed. The rat ran into a bamboo thicket. There was a large hole and we filled it in. It ran out, went up a liana into a large tree, came down again, and went into a patch of weeds. The dog chased it. It went in among the tree roots and from there up a liana back into the tree. We saw it sitting there. We shot at it until all our arrows were used up, but we didn't hit it. Then Padalani climbed up the tree to the first fork. I climbed the liana. When I was halfway up it was as though a person had cut it, and I fell. I was dizzy and my soul disappeared. I didn't remember anything more. It was as though I were dreaming. An old man stood near me and said, "Just now my child went to your garden for food; you too come to my garden when you are hungry. You have chased my child here. You may hunt him as far as the tree. But once he has gone up the tree you may not follow him. You see a tree but it is really a house, and my child has entered his house. You wanted to enter the house to hunt him, so I pulled up the ladder and you fell. Another time when a rat enters a tree do not pursue it. This liana is his ladder and this tree is his house." Then I returned to life and Padalani was sitting near me. He said, "I pinched your ear. I am small and if you had not come back to life I could not have carried you home."

Two days before the Yetok feast, Riemau called me to go with him to hunt bats. So I, Riemau, and his brother Lanmau went to a cave below Lawatiks. Riemau and Lanmau went down below. I stood guard up above at the entrance. I saw bats hanging to the roof of the cave and prodded them with a stick. Two fell and were shot by Riemau. One flew off. Lanmau also shot one. As I was standing there, a large bat flew out of the hole, bit my breast between the two nipples, and

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Kewaimau also put a bean in her ear, and she cried. I saw the bean there. I took a needle and fished it out very carefully. [He demonstrated with gestures.] The bean fell out then and blood flowed. 159X

May 18, 1939

Last night I dreamed and when I awoke this morning I told about it. I dreamed I was guarding people who were repiling the stone cairns in their fields. I said, "These stone cairns make the gardens small. Make walls on the boundaries instead." I was just standing guard over their work to see that it was done. [This order was actually given out two days ago by the officials and was relayed to the villagers by their chiefs. Was Malelaka giving himself governmental powers in this dream, or was he trying to impress me? This work would soon be actually done, and perhaps he thought I might not know of the order.] I watched and watched until the fields of all the three villages were finished. I awoke and the roosters were crowing. Then I went back to sleep and dreamed again.

The earthquake had come. People beat gongs and mokos and ran around. I said, "Don't beat gongs and mokos. It is as though you were calling people to give them to the earthquake. Sit quietly." But the people did not stop. Suddenly a big noise came from the mountains and all the houses fell down. I said, "You did not follow my words, and now it has come full force." If my dream is true, it means that next month a big earthquake must come. If not an earthquake, then another big wind. When the earthquake came, I saw the large houses were all aslant and the small ones were all down. Then my dream broke off.

[He continued immediately with the following.] If a familiar spirit extracts an object from a sick person and the sick person doesn't pay well or doesn't do right, the stone returns to his body. Last year Lonfani [his wife] got sick and people came and took out flints, sea pebbles, and plate chips. One hundred and fifty they extracted. They would take one out and in a little while she would cry and they would take out another. This year I paid a pig for all this work. But now she is sick again and they have already taken out fifteen. Each day they take out one, and I pay three cents or five cents each time. I throw away five cents. I throw away three cents. Last year I threw away one rupiah and fifty cents. Now I already have thrown away ten cents. Maybe the seer is deceiving us. Does he take one out and put it back again? [Who is the seer?] It is Rilpada. Formerly, when his father was a seer, his father would put a stone in his mouth first and then suck and pretend to draw it out as he sucked. But Rilpada is different. He pulls them out with his 159X 755 [755] 465 [756] 159X 755

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X 139 husband I broke out with sores like those my sister had. Then I went to Kalabahi for injections. [Question.] I went with my husband. First the doctor came here. My husband took him a big chicken to pay for the injections. The doctor said I would have to come to the hospital for injections, so he gave us a letter to take there. We went. I wanted to sleep in the market place, but the doctor said I had to stay in the hospital. I was there a month and a half. [Question.] My husband stayed all this time in Kalabahi, sleeping in the market. [Question.] I had injections every third day. [Pay?] My husband gave that large chicken the first time. That was worth fifty cents, and before I left he gave the doctor fifty cents more. [Where did your sickness come
X 139 from?] Father died of these sores. After he died Falepang took his
753 place. After she died and I married, I got them too. [Kawaimani, the elder sister with whom she was living, also had been badly afflicted, but she was not included in Lomani's account.] This illness is called *fiyai*. It is supposed to come from poison made with taboo kanari nuts. [I asked how it started in her family.] Father had some friends in Lakfui, and there he bought this *fiyai-awaibuku* poison. He used it here to protect his garden from theft, but someone sent the poison back against him and it infected him. [How?] If a person is smart at stealing, when he goes to take something, he reverses the bamboo stick with the poison in the cleft, thrusting the end that holds the poison hard into the ground. Then the sickness returns to the original poisoner.

March 21, 1939

X 139 Last night I dreamed I was talking to Lonmobi. She said, "The small pounding stone is over your head. Be careful it doesn't fall on you. That is the stone Djetmani used to pound medicine." [Question.] I don't know what medicine. Then a mouse bit my finger and woke me up. I looked at the pounding stone and it was near my head.

[I asked her to tell me all she remembered about Lonmobi.] She is from Affirkowati. Once I and Kawaimani fought with her over fields that had a common boundary. She cut weeds across her boundary into our fields. We quarreled because she wanted to use part of our garden. We said she couldn't come any more to work there. She said, "This is my mother's field, and I must come from time to time to work here." So we said, "Well, if you do come, follow your own boundary." So after that she did. [Did you see much more of her?] No, we were in two different villages and didn't play together. Later, when I was married to Djetmani, Lonmobi said, "Djetmani is my husband's brother and

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you are my child, so we can work together." When my child was sick, I didn't go out to the fields; I just stayed with her. At this time Lonmibi dug tubers and picked greens to help me. [Was your child in Atimelang at the time?] Yes, I had gone to File for beans. Wolmo [her child] returned with me and got sick. Then we went to live with Kolmani [a seeress]. Lonmobi came and stayed with us at Kolmani's house. [Kolmani was Lonmobi's mother's brother's son's wife.] 159x

[In the midst of this Lonmi digressed to tell the interpreter that as soon as she had finished she was going to get a pig to give the chief of Atimelang, who was divorcing his second wife. The pig was wanted by the chief to feed the judges and litigants.] [693]

Once Mailang of Folafeng litigated because Senmani stole his gong. [This was less than a year ago.] Djetmani told me to cook corn for the people. I asked where I was to get the corn, so he told me there was a bundle in his loft and to use it. So I took it up to Folafeng and pounded and cooked it to feed the litigants. [Note how rarely she spoke of partaking in feast activities.] When I finished the corn, I sat down with Lopada. She said that it would be a long time before Senmani paid and they would probably have to make another litigation, so we could go back to our garden work and do other things meanwhile. After that we came back down here to Atimelang. It was the time that Djetmani wanted to make a feast for Maliemai [his first wife]. So Djetmani went to Kafe to ask for pigs. When he came back he was sick. Lonmobi and Maleta said that Djetmani had better come live with Kolmani the Seeress to be treated by her. So we went there to stay. He vomited and sweated a lot and didn't get well fast. Then Fameni Longhair said it was because his nera house [wealth-bringing spirit] had to be fed, so Djetmani took a hen there and fed the nera spirits. We stayed with Fameni two days. Then I went back to stay with Kawaimani, and Djetmani went back to Maliemai, his first wife. They decided Djetmani had been poisoned, and so Maleta called Maugkari to bring a poison antidote. Maugkari went to Afaberka for the right roots. He gave them to Djetmani to drink. Then Djetmani got well. He wanted to go out. He went to bathe. When he came back he stayed with Maliemai. He made the verandah for his Rolik feast and told me to go and stay with his Male House kinswoman, Tilaleti. While I was staying with Tilaleti, he came over one night and spoke with her, saying he didn't want me as a wife and I had better go away. At this time he was already staying with Falepangmau [who became his third wife]. But I remembered the rice for the feast, so the next morning I went to pound [753 782] [757 278]